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618 for this patrilineal group bearing the same surname. They have borrowed the word from the Chinese, and now use it to denote people of the same surname who are known to be related, but it is a Chinese concept, and does not play an active part in their social organisation.

621 To the Min Chia it is the village, not the kin group, which is the fundamental social unit above the family. People living in the same village, no matter what surname they bear, jointly revere a common "ancestor" or more strictly, "founder", known as the *Ber Dser*, the "Original Ancestor", who is the reputed founder of the settlement. In Min Chia villages, where there may be as many as two hundred families, or as few as forty, three or four surnames are the rule, and no villages inhabited only by one *tsu*, common in Chinese districts, are found. In consequence of this the type of village name common in most parts of China, such as Chang Chia T'sun "village of the Chang Family" are never found in the Min Chia districts, where names such as "Chicken Village" or other descriptive names are usual. While the *Ber Dser*, the Founder, is often said to be the ancestor of one of the families living in the village, this is not necessarily the case, the worship paid to him is thus not ancestor worship, but the cult of a Genius Loci, open to all the inhabitants and not the special duty of one family.

582 551 The *tsu* or patrilineal group is not important to the Min Chia because they do not practise exogamy, and the *tsu* is thus shorn of its main function. When it is remembered that to the Chinese marriage with one of the same surname, even when no relationship can be traced, is strictly forbidden, the wide difference in Min Chia custom is apparent, for the Min Chia not only marry members of families with the same surname as themselves, but also paternal cousins of the same generation. Since the primary function of the surname among the Chinese is to locate the individual in his or

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her *tsu* and prevent any possibility of endogamy, and since the Min Chia surnames for the most part appear to be Chinese in origin, it is an open question whether the use of surnames by this people is not a comparatively recent consequence of contact with the Chinese. It is true that the Min Chia pronounce their names in a way very strange to Chinese ears. The common surname which a Min Chia writes as Wang, using the character employed by the Chinese, is pronounced Wa, since the Min Chia language has no final *ng*. But when, as in the case of the name Ch'en, the Min Chia pronounce it Tso, one may be inclined to doubt whether this is really the Chinese word at all, and not perhaps a Min Chia surname conventionally written in Chinese with the character for Ch'en.

The Min Chia social structure is therefore really a combination of territorial units, the village, worshipping a common *Ber Dser* or Founder, and kin groups in which the family rather than the Chinese *tsu* is the unit. The family in this sense must be understood as the greater family, or joint family, in which married sons and their children continue to dwell under the paternal roof. This is the ideal, as with the Chinese, but in practice, as the Min Chia themselves admit, it is rarely carried out for a long period. The married sons may in fact live in the parental home for some years, but on the death of the parents they usually divide up the property and set up separate establishments. This indeed, sometimes happens during the lifetime of the parents, when the sons marry, but more often this "division of the family" as it is called, merely means that the young married couple occupy a separate wing of the family house, and there keep a separate establishment. In some cases on marriage the son is given a share of the family land and henceforth manages independently of his parents, and this arrangement is said to be increasingly common. It is perhaps significant of this

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the consequence of the long and almost complete isolation 582
of the Min Chia districts. Few immigrants came to Ta Li, and very few Ta Li men went out into the larger world beyond the mountains. Now, when a motor road has been made connecting the city both with K'un Ming and Burma, and many refugees of good social status are coming to live in the remote security of the Min Chia country, it may be that opinions will change. The educated Min Chia may find that their failure to conform with Chinese standards of exogamy excites ridicule and contempt, and the custom of marrying paternal cousins, at least, may be abandoned by the wealthier class. It is unlikely however, that such influences will make themselves felt with the peasantry.

The worship of a common *Ber Dser*, or Founder gives a 621
sense of unity to a village in which more than one name 631
group dwells, and the solidarity of the village is further reinforced by institutions which permit the villagers to govern themselves in almost every matter. The government maintains no police force in the rural districts, nor any paid officials. In recent years, as part of the campaign to restore order and suppress banditry, the system known as *Pao Chia*, or "Family Guarantee" was introduced into Yunnan as in other provinces. This system, a modern version of one of the famous reforms of the eleventh century statesman Wang Anshih of the Sung Dynasty, is devised to make the villages responsible for strangers and travellers who come among them and so check the free movement of bandits. Three or four villages are combined to form a unit called a *chu*, an area, over which presides a *chu chang* or district headman, who is appointed by the *Hsien* Magistrate, but is usually also the headman of one of the villages in his *chu*. The headmen of each of these villages are obliged to report to him the movements of strangers and any disturbances which may occur, and he in turn informs the magistrate. Each village is sub-

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621 631 divided into groups of five families who are mutually responsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

622 631 This system gives the government information and places responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the [65] government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state.

653 622 It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

301 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments.
435 I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0.50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0.50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the
439 Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent com-
621 munities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join.

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used during the winter as fodder. There is enough land so that everyone can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope of a narrow valley. They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions.

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1. 30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1. 80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is
527 the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now
233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep-
241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable.
361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build-
565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence
551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam-
592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits
582 of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan.
621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be-
776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

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/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

113. 133, 177. 621, 105

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Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]